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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDA-05 SAJ-01 IO-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-03 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 NIC-01 NEA-09 EA-06 /088 W
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R 231741Z JAN 75
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7462
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USMISSION USBERLIN
AMCONSUL BREMEN
AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
AMCONSUL HAMBURG
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMCONSUL STUTTGART

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 01208

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, GW
SUBJECT: DISARRAY WITHIN THE CDU ON FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

SUMMARY: THE CONTROVERSY OVER WALTHER LEISLER KIEP'S MEETING WITH EAST GERMAN OFFICIALS IS REFLECTIVE OF DISARRAY WITHIN THE CDU/CSU OVER FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES. UNLIKE THE SPD WHICH IN THE AREA OF FOREIGN POLICY SHOWS A CERTAIN SOLIDARITY, CDU/CSU POLITICIANS SEEM TO BE STRIKING OUT IN DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS (E.G., STRAUSS' VISIT TO CHINA, SCHROEDER'S MEETING WITH ARAFAT, ETC.). DISAGREEMENT OVER FOREIGN POLICY IN THE CDU/CSU IS LIKELY TO COMPLICATE THE CHOICE OF A CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE FOR THE 1976 ELECTIONS. END SUMMARY

1. THE CONTROVERSY OVER A MEETING JANUARY 15 BETWEEN
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CDU TREASURER WALTHER LEISLER KIEP WITH EAST GERMAN OF-

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FICIALS AT THE RESIDENCE OF THE FRG PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE IN EAST BERLIN CONTINUES. KIEP, WHO MET WITH GDR DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER GRUNERT AND EAST GERMAN "CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC" DEPUTY CHAIRMAN WOLFGANG HEYL, CAME UNDER EXTREMELY HEAVY CRITICISM FROM HIS MORE CONSERVATIVE CDU/CSU FRAKTION COLLEAGUES FOREIGN POLICY EXPERT WERNER MARX AND BUNDESTAG DEPUTY MANFRED ABELEIN. CDU CHAIRMAN KOHL ALSO PUBLICLY CRITICIZED KIEP (WHO IS ALSO FOREIGN POLICY SPOKESMAN FOR THE CDU PRESIDIUM) FOR NOT HAVING CLEARED THE VISIT WITH THE CDU LEADERSHIP BEFOREHAND. THE CONTROVERY REMAINS ALIVE DESPITE PLEAS BY FRAKTION CHIEF CARSTENS AND OTHERS FOR SOLIDARITY AND AN END TO THE DEBATE IN PUBLIC.

2. A KIEP ADVISOR TOLD AN EMBASSY OFFICER THAT THE CDU TREASURER WAS SURPRISED BY THE REACTION TO HIS MEETING. OF COURSE, KIEP MUST HAVE KNOWN THAT SOME OF HIS MORE CONSERVATIVE COLLEAGUES WOULD BE ANGRY WITH HIM FOR MEETING WITH ANY EAST GERMAN OFFICIAL ESPECIALLY A LEADER OF THE "CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY." HOWEVER, THE CONTROVERSY NOT ONLY REFLECTS THE CONSERVATISM OF THE CDU/CSU FRAKTION, BUT ALSO ILLUSTRATES HOW FRAGMENTED THE CDU/CSU IS ON FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES. THERE IS CONSIDERABLE DISAGREEMENT IN THE PARTY AS TO HOW TO PURSUE FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES. FOR EXAMPLE, WHILE SOME CDU POLITICIANS BELIEVE THAT THE PARTY MUST ACCEPT THE EASTERN TREATIES AS LEGALLY BINDING AND BASE FUTURE CDU POLICY ON ACCEPTANCE OF THE FACT, OTHERS WISH TO DEBATE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TREATIES WHENEVER POSSIBLE. IT IS NOT ONLY OSTPOLITIK OR RELATIONS WITH EAST GERMANY WHICH DIVIDES THE PARTY. STRAUSS' VISIT TO CHINA AND SCHROEDER'S MEETING WITH PLO LEADER ARAFAT ALSO DEMONSTRATE VARIOUS APPROACHES TOWARDS FOREIGN RELATIONS. AN INDICATION OF THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 01208

CAN BE SEEN IN A SARCASTIC REMARK BY A KNOWLEDGEABLE CDU MEMBER WHEN ASKED IF THE CDU/CSU MIGHT HOLD A FOREIGN POLICY CONFERENCE SIMILAR TO THE SPD MEETING LAST WEEK-END: HE REPLIED THAT IF THE PARTY DID HOLD SUCH A CON-FERENCE IT WOULD HAVE TO BE HELD IN A PLACE WHERE YOU COULD LOCK THE DIFFERENT GROUPS IN SEPARATE ROOMS AND EVEN SO IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO INSIST THAT ALL WEAPONS WERE CHECKED AT THE DOOR.

3. THE SPD ON THE OTHER HAND, SHOWS RELATIVE SOLIDARITY, AS FAR AS FOREIGN POLICY IS CONCERNED. THERE IS SOME DISSENT, ON THE PART OF THE JUSOS AND OTHER LEFT-WINGERS IN THE SPD, HOWEVER, A CONSENSUS DOES EXIST AMONG THE RANK AND FILE MEMBERSHIP ABOUT THE BASIC PREMISES OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC POLICY (E.G., PARTNERSHIP WITH US, NATO MEMBERSHIP, DETENTE, AND OSTPOLITIK) AS WELL AS TO
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HOW THESE GOALS SHOULD BE PURSUED. FOR EXAMPLE, THE NEWLY-ELECTED SPD WHIP, GERHARD JAHN (FORMER JUSTICE MINISTER) VISITED EAST BERLIN ABOUT THE SAME TIME AS KIEP AND HAD A SIMILAR MEETING. IN CONTRAST TO THE KIEP AFFAIR THE REPORTS OF JAHN'S MEETING IN THE PRESS DID NOT CREATE ANY STIR WITHIN THE PARTY AND WAS AC-CEPTED AS A NATURAL COMPONENT OF OSTPOLITIK.

4. FOREIGN POLICY PLAYS A MINOR ROLE IN GERMAN NATIONAL ELECTIONS AND PRACTICALLY NO ROLE IN LAENDER ELECTIONS. THE 1972 ELECTION WAS AN EXCEPTION AND IT IS NOT LIKELY THAT THE SPD COULD WIN ANOTHER ELECTION ON THE BASIS

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OF CDU/CSU CONFUSION AND DISUNITY OVER FOREIGN POLICY.
WITHIN THE CDU/CSU THE PROBLEM IS SOMEWHAT MORE SERIOUS
BECAUSE IT COULD COMPLICATE THE CHOICE OF THE CHANCELLOR
CANDIDATE AND PUBLIC DISAGREEMENTS OVER FOREIGN POLICY
ARE LIKELY TO INCREASE INTERNAL TENSIONS WITHIN THE
PARTY.
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